*601 brother's wife should be called imarugo ("grandmother"), a man's younger brother's wife should be called itonaregedu ("child"). By similar derivations a woman's older sister's husband would be reduced to iyogwa ("father"), and a woman's *601 younger sister's husband to ivagedu ("grandson"). But only • 607 one of these designations is correct: a woman refers to her younger sister's husband as ivagedu, while she refers to her older sister's husband as inodowu ("stepfather"). And a man refers to his brothers' wives as irago ("granddaughter"). It is obvious that in affinal domain, the same sex siblings are not equivalent. To bring them to their focal kintypes we need yet other rules.

*601 Expansion of Rule 3: the Equivalence of a Woman's Sister and her Mother. A woman's older sister's husband is classified as "stepfather." Her younger sister's husband as [593] "grandson." The rule necessary to account for this clas- [603] sification requires that a woman's older sister, in this context, be equivalent to that woman's mother, and that a woman's younger sister be equivalent to that woman's daughter. This rule and the rule of equivalence of mother's sister and own sister show fundamental similarities. They can be combined and written together, specifying the equivalence of a woman's sister and her mother.

$$(\overline{\varphi S} \rightarrow \overline{\varphi M}) = (\overline{\varphi S} \rightarrow \overline{\varphi d})$$

This rule and its corollary should not be applied to the same context. The applicability of the upward and downward equivalence should be restricted as follows: if "♀" is M,

[601] then the downward equivalence is the correct one:

MS → Md → S

This has the consequence for the reciprocal type:

♀Sc → ♀Hc → ♀B/S

if "♀" is Ego, and S is a link to H (rather than child), then both directions are appropriate, depending on the relative age of S with respect to Ego:

♀S^{+}H → ♀MH

♀S^{-}H → ♀dH

8. The Equivalence of a Man and his Mother, or Sister (or his Lineage) in One Affinal Relationship. The classification of a man's brother's wife as irago is the most unusual. It seemed so odd, that in the field I spent a month checking on this piece of data, but the Bororo were firm on this classification and finally I had to accept their explanation of this unusual occurrence. They repeatedly said that either the man classifies his brother's wife as if he were a woman or that the man classifies her as his mother does, i.e. that in his relation to her, he takes the place of his mother: (imuga mugatowu imireo). Thus we must determine what it is that his mother or his sister call the woman in question. To Ego's mother, this woman is sW. To Ego's sister, this same woman is BW; but ♀BW → ♀sW. Thus, both to Ego's mother and to Ego's sister, this woman (Ego's BW) is irago. This, then, is what according to Bororo testimony ♂ Ego must call her. She then must call him by the reciprocal term for a male, viz. iyedaga.

613 Each man identifies himself with the lineage he belongs
*601 to, and the core of the lineage are the women. A woman who
606 marries "son" of the lineage is a "daughter-in-law" of the lineage. In this usage irago is a group-centered rather than Ego-centered term. This is corroborated by the fact that any woman who marries in the lineage is referred to by all the members of that lineafe as "our daughter-in-law" (parago--1st person plural inclusive.)

*601 This rule though strange, is yet another variant of general equivalence of a mother and her child which was expressed in different ways in the Crow rule (which equated mother's brother with brother), in female parallel collateral skewing rule (which equated mother's sister with sister), and it will be apparent again in the vocative system (where one's mother's parents are equated with one's own parents).

*601 Here also I would like to make an exception and antici-
607 page the social meaning of the present equivalence rule. By
835 placing brother's wife in the category of irago, the Bororo removed her from the category of sexual partners to which she previously belonged (as imarugo or itonaregedu), and so through the terminology, they express the ideal and the necessity of solidarity among brothers.

*601 With this, the analysis of the Bororo referential system is concluded. All the kin types have been accounted for and reduced to their focal kin types. The boundaries of the sys-
*601 tem coincide closely with the list on pages 11-18. Occa-
609 sionally, if convenient, some Bororo may restrict or extend

*601 561 ipebutojagiwu ("the one born after me"), or kodutrekodajiwu ("the one who follows me"). The first-born is designated boetojiwu ("the first one"), while the last-born is designated boigoduwu ("the last"). When there are three brothers, the oldest will be described as etumanareu ("their older brother"), the second as boyadadawu ("the one in the middle"), and the youngest one as etuviyereu ("their younger brother"). Further, any young sibling also can be addressed as imedregedu. Finally there is a special term for a man's first born son, ikenojiwu ("the one on my nose," which alludes to the custom of piercing a man's nasal septum on the same occasion when his first-born son is given a name).

*601 There are still a few more alternative terms that should be mentioned here. These are mostly those related to actual differences in relationships among kinsmen. If a man quarrels with his sister's husband, he will call the latter otogududogedu ("the one to whom pity was shown," meaning that the brothers gave their sister as wife to him out of pity). He will be called in return by his proper name instead of imedu. Two men married to sisters, if on good terms, may choose to call each other reciprocally either ito inowu ("the one like me") or imeduya ("my companion") instead of iyedaga and iyagedu. Similarly two women married to the same man, will call each other reciprocally either itoydo ("the one like me") or imedago ("my companion"). There are also some conventional expressions used when two people speak about a third person to whom both of them are related. For example,

*601 593 one parent speaking to the other about their child will say akonaregedu ("your child"), while a woman speaking to another about their common husband will say akoredu (your husband). A mother speaking to her sons about their father will say tameduya (your companion), while a father speaking to his daughter about their mother will say tamedago (your companion). *601 576 Finally, in some cases it is considered more polite to refer to kinsmen descriptively instead of mentioning the class to which they belong. Thus if a man is looking for his sister-in-law and he is a polite person he will ask, "Where is my brother's wife (imana oreduje pa, or kaiba imana oreduje kodure)?"

Choice among Alternative Designations

*601 611 As a general rule it may be said that: 1. When a person is doubly related to Ego, both matrilaterally and patrilaterally, the relationship traced through the mother takes precedence over the one traced through the father. In case FSs is also MBc then itonaregedu (MBc) takes precedence over *601 593 imarugo (FSd) and iyogwa (FSs). 2. The term traced through marriage of a person or one of his kinsmen takes precedence over the one traced through parents: in case that MBs is also SH, inodowu (SH) takes precedence over itonaregedu (MBs).

*601 607 In the case of sister exchange and marriage, where two men are at the same time "wife's brother" and "sister's husband" to each other they will call each other either inodowu or itonaregedu. I did not have the opportunity to personally observe this kind of relation.

Use of Kin Terms in Joking

*601 522 One of the most frequent ways of joking among the Bororo is to use kin terms for unrelated persons, pretending that they are related. Most of the time in doing so the speaker implies that between him and the addressee there exists the kind of social relationship that is usually connoted by the [601] relevant kinship term. For example, inodowu, one's sister's husband, is not supposed to refuse any request of his brothers'in-law. Therefore, sometimes a Bororo asking for an object will say, "inodowu, give me that ...." The other, most of the times will answer, "I am not your sister's husband (akodowu). You do not have either an older sister (atuye), nor a younger one (aviye) that I could marry." But if the man who made the request is a powerful man things can go differently. There is a story about a strong man who went from one village to another calling everybody on his way inodowu. However, nobody objected to being called in this way because nobody dared--they were much too afraid of him.

At some other times the Bororo use kinship terms in an ironical or mocking sense. Parents will call a man flirting with their daughter ivagedu ("son-in-law"). A woman will address her brother's sweetheart as irago ("daughter-in-law"), and a man will address his sister's suitor as inodowu ("brother-in-law"). The women, speaking among themselves, will refer to the most successful lover of the village as chedoredu --our husband.

553 Then he raises the child high and says the name of the father (the child's mother's husband), that of the mother, and the
[533] names chosen for the child. The ceremony is concluded with
[201] more songs. The namegiver is required to make ornaments for
[431] the child as compensation (mori) for piercing his lip. While all ornaments are prepared, the child's father must send gifts in food and tobacco to the namegiver.

[607] Here, too, we see both families involved in the ceremony—the father's brothers in adorning the child and in holding him at the crucial point and the mother's brothers in actually performing the ceremony. The names of both mother and father are announced to the community. Also significant is the appeal to Bakororo to attend the cere-
[723] mony and his representation in the course of it. Bakororo, who established the cultural and social order of the Bororo and who invented many ornaments and started many customs, must be present at the moment when a child becomes a member of the society.

[593] In the Bororo view the naming ceremony establishes an equivalence between child and namegiver similar to that existing between mother and child. The Bororo are unshakeable in affirming that the two relationships are completely parallel. The women state, "My child is a small me" (itonaregedu, imi rogu rugadu). And my informant, speaking about a man and his namegiver, said, "He [the namereceiver] is he [the namegiver] himself" (ema nure ema rugadu). They both are the same." It is difficult at first to grasp the logic of

593 success from the economic point of view, but what is more
484 important seems to be the pleasure that the couple derive from being alone, away from their families, and free from continuous observation of the rules of public conduct.

593 There are advantages in having brothers and sisters:
[578] the brothers will be a support during quarrels, and the sis-
[431] ters will send their siblings gifts of food, part of what they collect in the woods, or pieces of the game their hus-
[607] bands kill. A man will receive food from his brother's wife if he does not have any closer relative. On the other hand, a man finds some disadvantages in having many brothers: the competition in asserting oneself in ceremonies is much stronger, especially if the knowledge and ability of the brothers is comparable. There will be a lot of tension and envy among ambitious brothers in competing for the honor of being called on as a performer by the yorubodare lineage
593 from the other moiety. A wife who has many brothers can
607 also be a handicap. One will have to hunt and fish not only for the wife's mother and father, but he will have to send part of the food to her brothers too. They may frequently come to ask for ornaments and artifacts, for hunting and fishing tools, all of which the husband is supposed to give to his brothers-in-law without showing any sign of dissatisfaction. He cannot even ask for recompence, mori, as he would do with anybody else, because, as the Bororo say, "he is living with his compensation" (mori tabo ruqaduye tumuqure oino kodi)—with the sister that they have given him in marriage.